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the place of the former nobler union of church and state, until the forces of liberalism burst their bonds and overthrew at once the Federalist party and the "Standing Order". The desire for a government founded upon the will of the people rather than on the charter of Charles II., joined with a demand for religious liberty and equality, brought on the peaceful revolution of 1818, which restored once more the principles that had inspired the early founders of the commonwealth in their contest for religious and political liberty.

Miss Greene has chosen an important though difficult subject; and her treatment of it will encourage many who have long dismissed the history of platforms and covenants, ecclesiastical discussions and dissensions, as hopelessly arid and jejune, to renew their acquaintance with them as steps in the development of religious liberty in the steadiest and most sober-minded of any of our early commonwealths.

*American Political History, 1763-1876.* By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.

Edited and supplemented by JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. Two vols., pp. ix, 446; iv, 598.)

NEARLY a quarter of a century ago Professor Johnston of Princeton University contributed to Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States* a series of articles upon various topics in American history and government. These have now been collected by Professor Woodburn, rearranged in order, furnished with sundry additions to fill gaps, and equipped with recent bibliographical references, and are presented as a political history of the United States. On the whole, this was a task well worth doing, since these cyclopedia articles stand almost unrivalled for compactness and clearness, an excellent example of that "histoire explicative", as Seignobos calls it, which discards all extraneous matter and reduces the text to the concentrated analysis of what was significant and permanent in events. The acumen and lucidity with which such subjects are handled as the organization of the federal government, the conduct of party affairs in Congress, the process of secession, and the steps in reconstruction will make the book of unquestionable utility for the student and teacher.

There are certain drawbacks, however, resulting from the topical nature of the material, which impair the perfection of the work, and are not remedied even by the editor's additions, pertinent and useful as these generally are. Since Professor Johnston dealt, naturally, with each subject in all its ramifications, the reprinting together of the separate articles leads to an amount of repetition and a dislocation of chronology which almost destroys unity. When the history of each party and of several aspects of federal activity are studied under such heads as states' rights, secession, etc., the same events reappear in substantially identical form in half a dozen distinct places. On the other hand, subjects which

naturally belong together are widely divided. The chapter on the Constitutional Convention of 1787 does not describe the great compromises, which are left to be dealt with in another chapter in a different volume. The events of Jackson's terms are considered long before the origin of the Democratic party is studied, and the entire history of the Republican party precedes that of the Whigs or Free-soilers. It certainly seems as if the editor might have made a far better piece of work had he taken the liberty of discarding much repetitious matter, dividing long topics, and adhering with some pretense at closeness to chronological order. The cross-references with which the editor makes an attempt to remedy confusion are unfortunately without page numbers, and the index is scanty and contains errors. As it stands the book is hard to use, especially the second volume, and can scarcely be handled except by such as are already familiar with United States history. The narrowly political standpoint of the author gives the work an old-fashioned air.

Another peculiarity which stands out in the collected essays is the fact that they were nearly all written to prove certain favorite theses of the author, whose youth was passed in the crisis of the Rebellion and the Reconstruction struggle and whose opinions are plainly tinged with the feelings of those times. He maintains throughout, with great fervor, the fundamentally national character of the United States, combating the arguments of the states' rights school and showing impatience with the early statesmen for not realizing and asserting his principles. The establishment of the Articles of Confederation he terms a "usurpation" of sovereignty by the states, and of the Articles themselves he says (I. 60) "it is difficult to speak temperately". This assertion of national sovereignty runs through the discussion of every controverted constitutional question, giving the work a distinctly polemic character.

A similar theoretical tendency betrays itself in the treatment of political parties, which he regards as founded purely on opinion. "On this fundamental question of a strict or a broad construction of the Constitution", he says, "all legitimate national party differences in the United States are and always have been based" (II. 225). The persistence with which the author, standing upon this superficial criterion of parties, criticizes leaders and followers for their departures from "proper" views is only atoned for by the real keenness he displays when, neglecting theoretical tests, he devotes himself to the task of interpreting political and party action as it actually took place. Throughout the last part of the work the Southern and Democratic elements receive unsympathetic treatment, and a strong tendency is manifested to justify all acts of the Republican party. Nevertheless the author makes few mistakes and these are mostly in the line of vague or sweeping statements. It is old-fashioned, for instance, to call Hutchinson "unscrupulous" while applying no epithet to his rival Sam Adams; or to class the North Carolina Regulators with the destroyers of the Gaspee. The North Carolina and Virginia electors who voted for Adams in 1796 did not do so from "whim", but because they were elected in Federalist districts; Birney

did not decline the Liberty nomination in 1840; the "great mass" of Southern Whigs were not driven into the Democratic party by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; Maryland was far from "permanently Democratic" after 1852. The strong point of the essays lies in the clearness and vigor with which political action and motives are analyzed, and for this reason the volumes, in spite of their chaotic character, will be of permanent value.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

*The Life of Oliver Ellsworth.* By WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.  
(New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 369.)

A TRUSTWORTHY and well-written life of Ellsworth is a book worth having, and this life has both of these qualities. I cannot venture to say that it is absolutely free from error, for I have not scrupulously sought for blunders; but those I have noticed are trivial. The book is well written because the English style is clear, straightforward, and simple, not over-elaborated or striving for effect.

There has for a time been a supposition that the Ellsworth descendants had in their possession valuable manuscripts bearing on the life of the statesman, but, though Mr. Brown had access to everything, not much was found. One or two manuscript biographies of Ellsworth, written by relatives, and quite as dangerous in their temptations as helpful in their guidance, and a very few unpublished letters of not much significance were all the family treasures he unearthed. One of these manuscript biographies, which was written by Ellsworth's son-in-law, Joseph Wood, appears to have been used by Flanders. The other, the work of the Reverend Abner Jackson, sometime president of Hobart College, who married a granddaughter of the chief justice, has not, Mr. Brown says, been used before. Still these unpublished works were not very important; to have in one's possession the manuscript of a previous writer who tells of things that cannot be substantiated is embarrassing to a conscientious biographer, and there is evidence that Mr. Brown, burdened with at least sufficient courtesy, was at times puzzled in deciding how far he should be influenced by the efforts of his predecessors. He has not infrequently given rumor and hearsay for what they are worth, which may have been wise; but he rarely if ever speaks with a tone of certainty about any fact not fairly well supported by good evidence. More frequently than is desirable he has had to rely on the unsupported statements of Flanders and Van Santvoord. The material on which he had to depend was in no small measure in print—the *Trumbull Papers*, the *Journals of Congress*, the published *Writings* of the statesmen of the time, Maclay's *Journal*, and like sources. There is no indication that the manuscript journals of the Old Congress were ransacked, but it must be said that in all probability the most that could possibly have been gained by this drudgery would have been the discovery of a few formal details.